614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
● 174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

173

10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, son of Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, son of Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II or Rugwe.
21. Ndahiro II.
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kasseke.
24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.
27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III or Musinga.

●174 [289] Aside from this list of rulers, I was able to find out little about the history, but if we consider the large number of rulers, as well as the fact that among the revered spirits of the country the kin group Ndaula plays a subordinate role, we come to the probable conclusion that Ruanda has no connection with the states in the southern half of the Runyoro territory. After all, only Kissaka (not Ruanda) is mentioned in connection with the expedition of Ruhinda. On the other hand, the fact that Kagoro, Mugasha, and Wamara are mentioned in the religion of Ruanda, leads us to conclude that there are connections with the old Bunyoro state and the Bachwezi dynasty. According to the number of rulers Ruanda has had, we may trace the founding of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century. We therefore ask ourselves whether the founding of the Ruanda state does not stand in the same relation to the immigration of the Baganda into the interlacustrine region as the founding of Busindja, Karagwe, and Buhaya stands to the immigration of the Babito into Bunyoro. For it is not impossible that the rulers in the northern part of the interlacustrine region, whose peace was disturbed by the Baganda, in turn founded new states in the south.

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Bugansa south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 443 Ruganzu lwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

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The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 213-23.
[8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

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Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

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Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[30] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[30] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1935.

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point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.